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SUBJECT: SALT TWO II - THE SEVENTH WEEK

1. HERewith TEXT OF WEEKLY SUMMARY OF DEVELOPMENTS AT SALT TWO THROUGH MAY 18.

2. BEGIN TEXT: SUMMARY: THIS WEEK THE US DELEGATION CONTINUED ITS EXPOSITION OF THE NEGOTIATING PROGRAM AUTHORIZED IN NSDMS 213/216: TABLING A PROPOSAL FOR SETTLING THE NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS ISSUE ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCAL ASSURANCES NOT TO DEPLOY SUCH SYSTEMS IN A MANNER WHICH WOULD CIRCUMVENT A PERMANENT AGREEMENT ON CENTRAL SYSTEMS; DISCUSSING INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WE HAVE OFFERED FOR FREEZING ICBM MRVS/ MIRVS, AND A PERMANENT AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS; AND, IN THE LATTER CONTEXT, REINFORCING THE ARGUMENT FOR A PROVISIONAL ICBM MIRV FREEZE BY POINTING OUT THAT INCORPORATION OF FEATURES AT LEAST AS ADVANTAGEOUS IN A PERMANENT AGREEMENT SHOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE WITHOUT PRECISE EQUALITY IN

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ICBM LAUNCHERS AND THROW WEIGHT. THE SOVIET DELEGATION INTRODUCED NOTHING NEW, AND CONCENTRATED ON EXPLORING US VIEWS-- PAYING SPECIAL ATTENTION TO OUR POSITION REGARDING THE NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS ISSUE. WITHOUT ANY REACTION AS YET FROM THE SOVIETS TO THE NEW US IDEAS IT IS TOO EARLY TO KNOW HOW SOON-- OR EVEN WHETHER-- A SERIOUS DIALOGUE CAN DEVELOP. WE HAVE, HOWEVER, THROUGH OUR WILLINGNESS TO ADDRESS NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS, MET THE PREVIOUS MAIN SOVIET OBJECTION TO ENTERING SUCH A DIALOGUE.

NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS: THE US POSITION ON NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS WAS SET FORTH BY THE DELEGATION IN ITS MAY 15 TH STATEMENT, ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES: 1) NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS, THOUGH OF LITTLE REAL MOMENT IN THE STRATEGIC EQUATION, " CAN BE PERCEIVED AS AFFECTING IT;" 2) THE US CONSIDERS THAT THE " DEFINITIVE" SOLUTION TO THIS ISSUE IS " RECIPROCAL ASSURANCES TO THE EFFECT THAT NEITHER SIDE WOULD CIRCUMVENT THE AGREEMENT THROUGH DEPLOYMENT OF NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS;" 3) THIS PROPOSAL IS AN " INTEGRAL" PART OF THE US POSITION; 4) THE US CANNOT CONSIDER SALT PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THE SECURITY OF ITS ALLIES, OR COMPROMISE ITS ABILITY TO SUPPORT ITS ALLIANCE OBLIGATIONS; AND 5) ANY SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT NOT ONLY US FORCES OF THIS TYPE, BUT ALSO " THE COMPARABLE" SOVIET FORCES DEPLOYED AGAINST THEM.

PROVISIONAL FREEZE, INTERIM AGREEMENT AND PERMANENT AGREEMENT: IN ITS STATEMENT OF MAY 18, THE US DELEGATION ANALYZED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT FOR FREEZING ICBM MRVS/ MIRVS AND A PERMANENT AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. IT WAS MADE CLEAR THAT THE US VIEWS EACH OF THESE THREE ELEMENTS AS FUNCTIONALLY INTERRELATED. THE PROVISIONAL FREEZE AGREEMENT PROVIDES TIME TO WORK OUT PROVISIONS IN A PERMANENT AGREEMENT FOR DEALING WITH QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS OVER THE LONG RUN; THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT WOULD REPLACE BOTH THE EXISTING INTERIM AGREEMENT AND THE PROPOSED PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT AS THE " END PRODUCT" OF SALT TWO; BUT SOME ELEMENTS OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WOULD BE CARRIED FORWARD INTO THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT AS IS, OR IN MODIFIED FORM.

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IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN THE ARGUMENT FOR A PROVISIONAL FREEZE ON ICBM MRV/ MIRVS, THE US DELEGATION OUTLINED FOR THE SOVIETS HOW THIS AGREEMENT MIGHT IMPACT ON NEGOTIATIONS FOR A PERMANENT AGREEMENT, IF THE TERMS OF THE FREEZE WERE TO BE INCORPORATED IN THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT. THIS RELATIONSHIP WAS EXPRESSED AS FOLLOWS: " IN THE

EVENT THAT THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT CARRIED MRV/ MIRV LIMITATIONS AT LEAST AS ADEQUATE AS THOSE WE HAVE PROPOSED FOR THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE WITHOUT THE NECESSITY FOR PRECISE EQUALITY IN SUB- CEILINGS ON THE NUMBER OF ICBM LAUNCHERS AND ON THE THROW- WEIGHT OF THE MISSILES WHICH COULD

BE LAUNCHED FROM THOSE LAUNCHERS."

FOR THE PRESENT, THE DELEGATION DOES NOT INTEND TO ELABORATE ON THIS FORMULATION. AS IT STANDS, HOWEVER, THE US STATEMENT FLAGS OUR WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER A PERMANENT AGREEMENT BASED ON A BALANCING- OFF OF ASSYMETRICAL ADVANTAGES: ROUGHLY, PROVISIONS FA
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